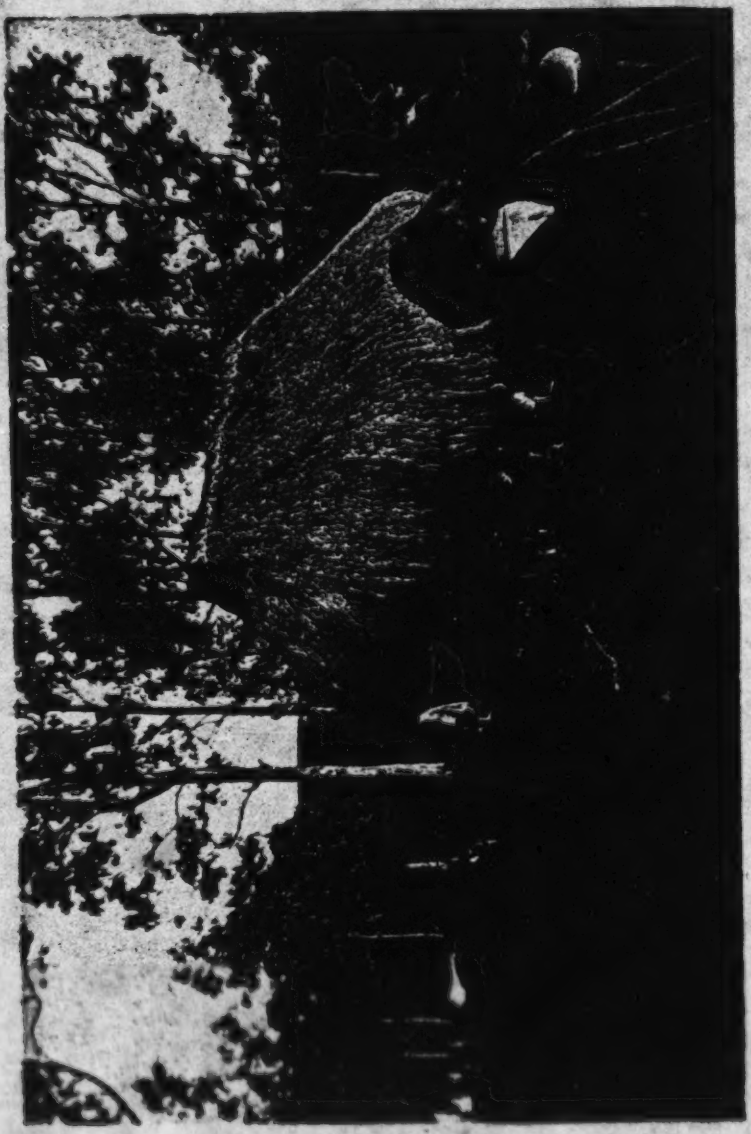
1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342
231
291
245



A Mapuche homestead

[frontispiece]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[12]

[12] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol.

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[9] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent

[9] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of *mitmacs*, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, orégano, and tomillo. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Cofaripe man: "No, the effect does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon."

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Cofaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few homes had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 21, *1*.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish.

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, *3*). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. *72*, *3*) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found.

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield.

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, *1*; 70, *2*; 78, *3*); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain.